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**“IF YOU LIKIN’ THIS POSITION YOU CAN TAPE IT”: RECEPTION OF THE MALE GAZE
AMONG DANCER AND NON-DANCER CONSUMERS OF MUSIC VIDEOS**

By

Mary Anne Hood

Accepted in Partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

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Master's Thesis

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Mary Anne Hood

November 28, 2017

**“IF YOU LIKIN’ THIS POSITION YOU CAN TAPE IT”: RECEPTION OF THE MALE GAZE
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A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Mary Anne Hood
November 2017

Abstract

Music Videos are a pervasive text in American Culture. Though scholars have paid music videos little attention, the limited research has focused on the ways they tell stories about gender, sex, and violence in American culture. In particular, discussions have focused on the use of the discourse of the male gaze in the representation of women in music videos.

Drawing on the framework of practice and performance theory, I look at the role of embodiment in shaping the discourse cultural actors use when viewing music videos. I hypothesize that individuals with a background in dance use a differing discourse than the male gaze when viewing women in music videos. To test this hypothesis, I used a digital survey and performed linear regression analysis on the data. Additionally, I contextualize this data with a sample of interviews and text responses from survey participants.

I conclude that there appears to be no evidence of a negative correlation between the dance exposure and the use of the male gaze as primary discourse when viewing women in music videos. Additionally, I discovered there is no trend among participants to use the male gaze as a primary interpretive discourse. I further discuss the implications and limitations of the study within.

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Mary

Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	v
List of Tables and Figures	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
The Conflict of the Gaze	2
Testing the Gaze	4
Chapter 2: The Male Gaze	6
Chapter 3: The Music Video	12
The History of the Music Video	14
Music Video Studies	16
Chapter 4: Theory and Methods	20
Theoretical Framework	20
Embodiment in Cultural Theory.....	22
Embodiment and Dance	26
Description of Study Population	28
Description of Testing Material	29
Narrative of Procedures	30
Chapter 5: Results and Discussion.....	33
Survey Data	34
Regression Results	36
Qualitative Results	38
Chapter 6: Moving beyond the Gaze	46
Works Cited	51

Table of Contents (con.)

Appendix A: Music Video Survey.....	57
Appendix B: Semi-structured Interview Schedule.....	65
Appendix C: Tables	66

List of Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Screenshot of “Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)”	29
Table 1: Scatter Plot of Dance Education and ... <i>dance move to be sexually suggestive</i>	37
Figure 2: Results of Multivariable Model of Age, Viewing, Education	38
Figure 3: Screenshot of males with cameras for heads in “Video Phone”	41
Table 2: Survey responses to <i>What is your ethnicity?</i>	66
Table 3: Survey response to <i>What is your sexual identity?</i>	66
Table 4: Survey response to “Approximately how often do you watch music videos”	67
Table 5: Survey response to <i>Do you like to dance?</i>	67
Table 6: Survey response to ...what types of dance classes have you taken?	68

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The concept of *cultural text* is used by anthropologists to mean anything created in any particular cultural context to communicate ideas (Geertz 1973; Bourdieu 1977; Ortner 2006). Therefore, cultural texts can be books, paintings, plays, film, architecture, etc. With the rise of personal mobile devices with twenty-four hour access to the internet, there are endless kinds of texts available to anyone anywhere at any given time.

Music videos are a common cultural text in American society. They are recognized as a genre of media separate from narrative cinema and television (Vernallis 2013). Today there is much criticism about how these particular texts influence the way people think and act. As with the public interest in any kind of media, music video creation and use has drawn an ever growing cross-disciplinary area of scholarship devoted to examining how the ways they are produced may alter the ways we see and act. The larger part of research on music videos has focused on the ways they objectify women for male pleasure in order to sell records (Jhally 1995, 2007; Andsager 2006; Baxter et al. 1985; Beebe and Middleton 2007; Dixon et al. 2009; Ginsberg and Gekonge 2004; Railton and Watson 2011; Seidman 1992; van Oosten et al. 2015; Vernallis 2013). This process of objectification is commonly referred to as the *male gaze* (Mulvey 1975; Sturken and Cartwright 2009; Jhally 1995; Jhally 2007). The male gaze is a concept formalized by feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey to explain how patriarchal ideas of women are mechanized and reproduced in film (Mulvey 2015). Sut Jhally (1995, 2007), in his series of documentaries on music video, *Dreamworlds*, argued that the use of fragmentation and disembodied representation of the female body on camera in music videos provides an even more intensified form of the male gaze than

other forms of media. In his series, Jhally also notes that one common visual mechanism of the male gaze in music videos is the dancing female. In the body of research on the male gaze and music videos, a single reading is imposed, and the possibility that women viewing the videos may interpret these texts in different ways is overlooked (Vandermassen 2007). This emphasis in the literature exists despite the fact that Mulvey herself has elaborated on her theory that she felt that the dominance of the 'male gaze' could easily be subverted by the viewer, "who cared to assert their own sexual identity or proclivity, which might have involved reading against the grain or intuiting a subversive instinct already there on the screen" (Mulvey et al. 2015: 51).

The Conflict of the Gaze

Camille Paglia (1992) described an argument during a class discussion about the popular singer Madonna who is well known for her dancing and singing in music videos. About half of the students believed she was a feminist artist, and half felt that her performances are degrading to women. Paglia later discovered that the members of the class who believed Madonna was a feminist were dancers. Paglia explains that the reason for this division is simple: "Madonna is a dancer. She thinks and expresses herself through dance" (1992: 6-7). I observed a similar debate in a university course in Visual Anthropology. One student in the course presented on gender stereotypes in media. At the end of the presentation, they showed the music video "Single Ladies" by Beyoncé. Most of the class engaged in a discussion criticizing the video for its objectification of women to the male gaze. At this time, I found myself somewhat offended by how quick the class was to ignore the dancers and their skill, as well as the larger narrative of the video. Later I realized, as someone who has experience with dance, that I understand dance and the

desire to dance as an exercise of individual agency, an act enforcing individual subjectivity. As Cathy Schwichtenberg (1993) argues, performers/exhibitionists know they are being watched and can use this attention to reinforce or deconstruct ideas. In researching this issue further, I found a significant number of feminist writings criticizing dance and performance as inherently objectifying the female performer to the dominance and ownership of the male gaze (Alexander-Barr 2007; Daly 1991). A common theme among these writings was their lack of consideration for variation in reception of women to performance, and of the dancers' choice in the act of exhibition.

These observations have led me to ask: Do women interpret female performance in music videos through the lens of the male gaze? More importantly: Why does dance experience seem to have a divisive effect on women's reception of female performance in music videos? From the perspective of a Third Wave Feminist, I understand the complexities of the intersectionality of various social statuses of cultural actors in their experience of various cultural discourse. I hypothesize that women with experience in dance interpret the text of music videos in a fundamentally different ways. This differing discourse is probably the result of the different ways dancers and non-dancers think about and use their bodies. I refer to this difference as embodiment.

My research is grounded in practice theory and performance theory. Practice theory argues that there is an evolving relationship among cultural ideas/discourses reproduced in cultural text, cultural actors, and the practicing of these ideas in day-to-day life (Ortner 1984). Practice theory assumes cultural actors can reject or negotiate with larger cultural discourse; this process is the result of the performance of cultural ideas and accounts for changes in culture over time. Therefore, women, whose day-to-day lives differ through the

practice of dance, may have different opinions from women who do not dance when asked about the same cultural text where the female body is the subject/object being viewed. Formalized by Judith Butler (1988), performance theory asserts that gender does not exist except through performance. Gender is therefore not tangible symbols: genitalia or hair length. In Butler's view, gender is the assemblage of these symbols together exhibited and performed by a cultural actor. These performances exist in specific historic and cultural contexts. For example, in Western cultures, hair length has been historically tied to gender, where even today formal sanctioning exists in many settings for males who wear their hair long (Daffron 2008). In contrast, for Polynesian cultures hair length is directly related to an individual's power, their *mana*, but has no symbolic tie exclusive to any gender (Mageo 1994). In taking a performative view of gender, it is possible to see how cultural actors have the capacity to reinforce, challenge, and subvert dominant embodied gender discourses.

Testing the Gaze

Since my goal is to understand how women interpret music videos of female artists, I used surveys to collect data on their opinions. As a comparison group, I included men and individuals with different gender identities. Given some previous research on media priming the naturalization of gender discourses, I also collected data on participants' music video viewing habits. As a control, I also collected data on participants' sports participation, and various other social statuses: age, ethnicity, and sexuality.

This research seeks to contribute to the larger discussion on gender and representation in media. As a feminist scholar, I understand the representation of women, specifically the representation of the female body, to be an abstraction of cultural ideas.

These ideas are then manifested physically through the performance of 'female' by cultural actors and become tacitly inscribed upon the bodies of women. Uncovering these ideas in their abstract form through research, on cultural text such as music videos, gives us a way to address and challenge how these ideas are manifested physically in day-to-day life. I also assume that the audience is a site of meaning-making. Through understanding the ways in which audiences subverts dominant readings, we can use that knowledge to challenge further objectifying ideas of femininity and hegemonic gender norms in general.

Combining practice theory, discourse, and performance based understandings of gender (Butler 1988; Connell 2005), this thesis seeks to test the usefulness and dominance of the male gaze as an interpretive paradigm. To answer my research questions, it is imperative to understand the discussions surrounding the male gaze. Chapter 2 summarizes the existing and relevant research on the male gaze. In Chapter 3, I will explore the history of music videos as a cultural text, and the scholarship surrounding dance in this cultural text. In Chapter 4, I will describe the theory and operational definitions that frame my research. In this chapter, I also describe my procedures, and choice of materials. Chapter 5 contains my research results, and discusses implications and limitations of my research. Chapter 6 summarizes the results, and discusses the implication of this work for anthropological, media, and feminist research.

CHAPTER 2: The Male Gaze

Since it was first introduced by Laura Mulvey, the male gaze has become a ubiquitous concept in psychology, film, and art studies. The pervasive acceptance of this concept throughout academia has inspired scholars in diverse fields, including biological evolution, where scholars have attempted to investigate possible evolutionary sources for its presence (Vandermassen 2007). Other scholars, such as those in media studies, cultural studies, and anthropology, examine this concept as a cultural paradigm. This chapter reviews the multidisciplinary scholarship on the male gaze and outlines the definition I employ in my research.

Laura Mulvey originated the concept of the male gaze in an attempt to spin social theories already in use to make a feminist critique in film studies (Mulvey 2015: 50). In the late 1960s, Mulvey had been attending a reading group for the Women's Liberation Movement. After studying and discussing other male theorists' accounts for family structure and women's place in it, Mulvey decided to appropriate psychoanalytic theory as a "political weapon" to address the limited representation of women in popular films at the time (Mulvey 1975; Mulvey et al. 2015). She explains:

With the help of these sources, it was not difficult to decipher in certain images, often of surface enchantment, a kind of 'vernacular fetishism' that revealed not very hidden symptoms, a secret disgust that had everything to do with the 'patriarchal unconscious' and nothing to do with women apart from their oppression. This deciphering process not only provided feminism with a critical weapon but its practice was illuminating, enjoyable -- even fun! [Mulvey et al. 2015: 50]

By flipping theory on its head, she showed the hegemony of patriarchal ideas in film. She believed that through demonstrating how film reproduced oppressive ideas of women's bodies, she would help undermine the patriarchal ideas that limited female physical autonomy in day-to-day life (Mulvey 2015: 50).

Specifically, Mulvey's concept of the 'male gaze' is based on the theories of Freud and Lacan (Mulvey 1975; Rose 2007; Sturken and Cartwright 2009). She explained that women's submissive and passive portrayals in film are a way to circumvent the castration anxiety men experience around women (Mulvey 1975: 17). Psychoanalysis assumes that all behaviors and cultures are guided by the unconscious phallogentric mind that is usually suppressed by the conscious mind. It is in appealing to the unconscious mind that we find viewing films as pleasurable. Mulvey refers to this pleasure in viewing as the "scopophilic instinct" or pleasure in looking (17). In psychoanalytic thinking, gazing is inherently objectifying and pleasurable and it is through this scopophilia that individuals develop a sense of self (Mulvey 1975, Rose 2007). In analyzing the films of Alfred Hitchcock, Mulvey argues that women are objectified on screen, and their roles are always passive. Women in these films exist only as objects to the active male subjects of the film, and this objectification is furthered beyond the narrative in how women's bodies are captured on film. For example, Mulvey argues that women are filmed in fragmented ways where only parts of their body are visible, close-ups of the face or the camera panning parts of the body. This process of objectification of females in films is what Mulvey referred to as the male gaze. Mulvey's work permanently shifted the academic discussion on films.

Other scholars employing this concept have used it not as a psychological reality, but a visual trope produced within a specific cultural context. Sturken and Cartwright (2009), from their vantage point of media studies, have reiterated that Mulvey's concept of the male gaze is a field of meaning, produced within a particular historical and cultural context (103). In the process of looking, viewers recognize themselves within their cultural context. In this way, they note Mulvey's concept bears similarities to Michel Foucault's

concept of the 'inspecting gaze.' Michel Foucault saw the relationship between the viewer and the viewed as being established in discourse (Sturken and Cartwright 2009). Discourses change over time, and power is inherent in the ability to make and reinforce discourses. Similar to Foucault's understanding of discourse, Mulvey made no assertion about the universalism of the male gaze as inherent to the human condition; she saw it as a historic culturally specific product of patriarchy in representation (Mulvey et al. 2015).

One perspective of the male gaze outside of film and media studies comes from bio-evolution. Griet Vandermassen argues that the psychoanalytic understanding of the male gaze did not stand up empirical analysis: specifically, the source of male gaze being castration anxiety (2007: 2). Vandermassen uses the example of homosexual male porn to make this point. If the objectification of women in film is the result of castration anxiety, why does homosexual male porn objectify male bodies through the same visual techniques like the female bodies in heterosexual porn? She argues that it is because men have evolved to be aroused by "objectified sexual stimuli" (Vandermassen 2007: 2).

Vandermassen (2007) proposes that the male gaze is the result of human sexual selection and asserts that women do not have an equivalent female gaze because it is an evolutionary disadvantage for women to become easily aroused from visual stimuli: Women seek commitment and resources due to the energy needed to raise children. Vandermassen (2007) believes that differences in parental investment have lead to differences in sexual psychologies between men and women. Vandermassen also feels that the women who are the objects of the male gaze have power and are not passive. This is because they attract men, which gives them an evolutionary advantage in mate choice and in this way

intrasexual selection among women perpetuates the gaze. She concludes that the male gaze is neither a psychologically-based tool to mediate castration anxieties nor entirely the creation of patriarchy; rather, Vandermassen argues it is the result of human evolution (2007, 4). She asserts that the more culturally patriarchal a society is, the more dominant these portrayals of women will be (8); however, this assertion undermines her larger argument of evolutionary causation.

Vandermassen's argument is highly problematic. Her thesis is constructed around very limited data from a Western society, and she does not include any cross-cultural comparisons for the studies she cites. Western culture is ocularcentric and has become more so over the past century (Rose 2007: 4). Given that, we can assume that ocularcentrism would be present in all facets of day-to-day life, including an individual's sexuality. Vandermassen also fails to address the possibility that the difference between men's and women's use of porn could be a matter of tacit cultural praxis related to gender specific taboos of porn consumption, not an evolutionary consequence. Female sexuality is highly stigmatized in Western cultures (Jhally 2007; Valenti 2009) while heterosexual male sexuality is hyper-naturalized, where in public conversation describing sexual violence towards women is innocuously referred to as "boys being boys" (Katz 2013; Connell 2005). Given this, it is likely that men of any sexual inclination are more likely to explore their sexuality through consuming visual media, like porn, than women. Like Mulvey, Vandermassen recognizes the ability to challenge the male gaze as a hegemonic visual paradigm created by a patriarchal culture. However, Vandermassen undermines Mulvey efforts to tear the "sexualised images of women out of any natural or referential framework, displacing their meaning back onto the society that had produced them" by

using evolutionary theory to naturalize patriarchal ideas (Mulvey et al. 2015: 51). This research is on par with other “academic urban legends” that attempt to naturalize Western patriarchy through evolutionary theory (Freese and Meland 2002: 133).

In addition to looking at film and porn consumption, academic research on the male gaze has expanded to all forms of visual media. Analyzing music videos, Sut Jhally (2007) fuses Foucault's and Mulvey's concepts of the gaze. He defines the male gaze as a hegemonic visual discourse that through visual devices represent women as objects for male pleasure. He argues that the rapid visual isolation of different parts of women's bodies in music videos is an intensification of the objectifying devices of the male gaze in traditional narrative cinema. He calls this visual disembodiment "the pornographic gaze" (2007). He, like Mulvey, believes that women, in turn, internalize this gaze and learn to view themselves as objects for male pleasure, which he argues has a detrimental influence on how women view themselves and a detrimental influence on how men view women. Though originating in the theory of psychoanalysis, the concept of the male gaze is used in discourse analysis to examine gender representations in cultural text.

Sut Jhally (2007) argues that dancers, especially dancing women, in music videos function as a decoration or as sexual stimulants. However, Wendy Buonaventura rebuts such a generalization, noting that even in music videos "creating a sexual display isn't necessarily what someone has in mind when they get up and move" (2004: 11). She argues that this type of thinking is particularly androcentric. By placing dance within a discourse of the male gaze, it becomes sexualized and denied of its true nature as a 'liberatory praxis' for subordinate bodies (Buonaventura 2004). In addition, Jhally's discussion leaves out male dancers and dancers with non-hegemonic gender identities. Jhally's work, like

Mulvey's, focuses on the content of the media rather than the consumers of media and how they might be actually perceiving the content. Even Mulvey herself has reflected on her concept noting that:

...modes of spectatorship were always more complex than the "Visual Pleasure" essay allowed and the 'male gaze' could always be transgressed by anyone who cared to assert their own sexual identity or proclivity, which might have involved reading against the grain or intuiting a subversive instinct already there on the screen. [Mulvey et al. 2015, 51]

Mulvey uses "spectatorship" to describe differing viewpoints consumers of film can take. She explains that as she became aware of the embedded patriarchy in film when her "mode of spectatorship changed" to that of a feminist spectator (2015, 51). If modes of spectatorship change how the content of media is perceived, then the interpretive power of the male gaze to be detrimental to women is limited to the status of the spectator. I assume that embodiment alters a cultural actor's modes of spectatorship. In the case of this research, I assume that dancers have a very different mode of spectatorship when watching music videos than non-dancers.

For the purposes of my research, I understand the male gaze as a cultural discourse of which men and women can be critically aware that can be reproduced, mocked and transcended in film and reception. Since most of the body of research on the male gaze so far has emphasized the texts produced and not the spectators' personal understandings of these texts, we do not have a grounded understanding of the power of these cultural ideas. The following study is a starting point for examining the male gaze at the level of the audience.

CHAPTER 3: The Music Video

The music video has become an omnipresent product in American culture. Music videos were originally a form of advertising to sell albums for record companies and used to develop marketable identities for the musicians themselves (Andsager 2006; Jhally 2007; Railton and Watson 2011). According to Jhally, music videos are a “vital and central part of the music and entertainment industries” (1995). Music videos have become so central to the music industry that it has been argued that they are more important now than the music itself (Andsager 2006). This emphasis on visual presentation is evident in musicians who have released entirely visual albums, with subsequent or corresponding releases of the music itself (See, *Runaway* (2010), *Beyoncé* (2013) and *Lemonade* 2016). As one arts journalist has noted, this development of visual albums is likely an extension of earlier music video film hybrids like *A Hard Day's Night* (1964), *Moonwalker* (1987), and *Purple Rain* (1984) (Sommers 2016). Music videos have evolved from being an experimental form of advertising for record companies to a genre of media, pervasive in American culture.

Music videos vary widely in style: they can be filmed footage of musicians performing a song, and/or be composites of any film footage, images, and dance. Music videos can attempt to use narratives to frame the music featured or be absent of any storytelling. They can range from a few minutes to the length of a traditional feature film. It has been argued that music videos are inherently postmodern, because they are composites of music and film in which their ability to communicate ideas is dependent on intertextual references (Railton and Watson 2011). The literature on music videos notes that they frequently reuse the same camera techniques, special effects, and imagery.

Universal across this art form are specific themes such as sex, violence, and love (Gehr 1983; Baxter et al. 1985; Jhally 2007). In particular, much attention has been given to the ways music videos depict sex and violence, and how gender and sexuality are constructed in representing these themes.

Since music videos first came to the attention of scholars, it has been repeatedly argued that they contain predictable and recurring stereotypes of femininity and masculinity (Gehr 1983; Seidman 1992; Andsagar 2006; Jhally 2007). If we examine media as a cultural text that contains both tacit and explicit beliefs of a culture, this kind of analysis leads us to a greater understanding of that particular culture. Additionally, understanding how members of a culture - in this case, American culture - interact with and reflect on these texts tells us even more about how these texts reflect the actual day-to-day life of people. Given the centrality of the theme of sex and the representation of male and female, music videos tell us a lot about gender in American culture. Among adolescents, data shows females view music videos more often than males than males (Strouse et al. 1995). Despite trends in viewership, the wealth of content analysis show the males are twice as likely than females to be featured in music videos (Baxter et al. 1985; Andsager 2006). Studies on music videos suggest that there is a relationship between media consumption and the behaviors and attitudes of viewers (Baxter et al. 1985; van Oosten et. al. 2011; Dixon et al. 2009; Jhally 2007). Given that females are more often consumers of this media and this may result in certain behaviors and beliefs, it is important to understand what has been said about the representation of females in music videos. Before addressing the representation of gender currently, it is important to understand how music videos went from a form of advertising to a central text in American culture.

The History of the Music Video

Despite many scholars attributing the creation of the music video to MTV, the origins of film promotion of music is much older. The earliest predecessor to music videos may have been the illustrated songs of the 1890s; these silent films were made to accompany specific songs played live in the theater (Herzog 2007). These illustrated songs would often result in increased sales of the featured song's sheet music. Musical shorts appeared shortly after the addition of sound to cinema. Musical short and promotional short of musicians or upcoming films appeared in cinemas in the late 1920s. It was not until the development of Soundies in the 1940s that musical shorts began to be produced with some regularity for their own sake. Soundies were produced between the year of 1941 and 1947. These were musical performances and comedic shorts produced specifically to be played on the Mills Panoram, a film jukebox. Soundies span all musical genres including non-Western music. Much like the modern music video, Soundies had diverse styles: sometimes were the filmed performance of live music, or sometimes short narrative films set to the music. From the 1950s to the 1970s, promotional films for musicians and bands aired on television during music-oriented programming (Railton and Watson 2011). These promotional films were essentially what would come to be known as music videos. Outside of television, in an attempting to create create marketable personas of the musicians and promoting their music, musicians, such as Elvis and The Beatles, appeared in films that attempted to blend a narrative and their songs into a full-length film. (Railton and Watson 2011).

With the creation of MTV in 1981, record companies were given a platform outside of radio that existed solely for the promotion of their artist (Andsager 2006). Richard Gehr

(1983) criticized MTV for how music videos reshaped the relationship between musicians and their audience. He argued music videos dictate interpretation to the audience members, replacing the thoughts and ideas they would have had personally just listen to the music itself - an open relationship between art and audience. But Gehr's argument ignored the fact that this practice of visual interpretation had occurred long before MTV with Soundies and promotional films. Other television channels focused on the airing of music videos were created throughout the 1980s (Andsager 2006; Railton and Watson 2011). By the late 2000s, these channels began to reduce airplay of music videos, replacing them with an assortment of original content. Julie Andsager suggested that the loss of airplay on television channels such as MTV might mean the music video "may be on its way to obsolescence," but that is far from the case (2006: 48). MTV has stopped airing music videos, with the exception of special events. Today, music videos are primarily accessed over the internet (Railton and Watson 2011).

The decrease in music video production and airplay on MTV has been attributed to the decreasing revenues of record companies in the late 1990s and early 2000s as a result of peer-to-peer music sharing applications (Vernallis 2013). Carol Vernallis argues that this shift accelerated an "audiovisual turn" in film, television, and commercials that had begun after the music video boom of the 1980s. She argues that familiarity with new technologies and techniques has helped funnel out-of-work music video directors into cinema, and, as a result, the genre of music videos has permanently altered post-classical cinema by shifting to an audiovisual emphasis in storytelling and pace. While airplay shifted from MTV to the internet, Youtube and other video sharing websites became the centers of music video consumption. Unlike MTV, the internet provides a more democratic platform, with less

copyright and broader access. Furthermore, with the new availability of professional level video editing technology, consumers have become producers. This rise of “prosumers” in music videos has produced globally successful musicians who are completely independent of record labels, such as Macklemore and Ryan Lewis (Eliscu 2013). In 2013, YouTube viewers watched around 1.2 billion videos a day, most of which is believed to be music videos (Vernallis 2014: 12). Additionally, Vernallis argues that the definition of music videos has also changed as a result of the transition of music videos from commercial production for MTV to the internet sharing and prosumer productions: “We can thus define music video, simply, as a relation of sound and image that we recognize as such” (Vernallis 2014: 11). She also argues that this audiovisual turn in media aided by new digital technologies has blurred the boundaries between these text genres, and she refers to music videos, YouTube clips, commercials, and film as *new media* (Vernallis 2014:12).

Music Videos Studies

The mixture of images, with their symbolism, lyrics, and sound make music videos a complex text to study. Despite having a history grounded in both cinema and the transformation of media of the Twentieth Century, music video remained largely ignored by academic consideration until the mid-1990s (Railton and Watson 2011). The earliest academic inquiry into music videos is a content analysis of music videos on MTV conducted by Richard L. Baxter et al. (1985). They coded for sex, violence, surrealism, and politics. In their study, they used 64 music videos that aired in 1984 for 23 different categories. They noted that music videos stressed sexual content, but that this was understated compared to other televised sexual content at that time. They defined sexual content as “innuendo through clothing, suggestiveness, and light physical contact...” (336). They also noted the

commonality of violence in music videos portrayed in the form of physical aggression. However, the most common element they found was visual abstraction, which they defined as “use of special effects to produce odd, unusual, and/or unexpected representations of reality” (337). Even more noteworthy for the present study is the fact that their study coded for dance more often than violence, yet they paid little attention to this fact in their results discussion. They also codified dance movements they felt were sexually suggestive as sexual content, without any qualification on what “sexually suggestive” might be.

Most research on music videos has been focused on their sexual and violent content. Citing the work of James T. Carey (1969) who examined the lyrics of popular music from the 1950s through the 1960s, Andsager (2006) reminds us that sex was the most prevalent topic in American music generally, even before the proliferation of music videos. Andsager reports that content analysis studies have not documented an increasing frequency and degree of sexual imagery, but she notes “anecdotal evidence of this phenomenon is unmistakable as clothing, language, and innuendo continue to become more provocative” (Andsager 2006, 32). She notes that music videos representation of sex seems parallel to that in all contemporary televised media. Like Jhally, she argues women are portrayed in a narrow scope that is centralized on their sexuality. Even when female musicians are portrayed as using sexuality as a means of empowerment, they are only represented as having power over themselves, while male artists are often portrayed as asserting sexual dominance over others.

Sut Jhally reiterates Andsager’s work, arguing that females are either portrayed as passive objects of male attention or preoccupied with getting male attention (Jhally 1995; Jhally 2007). Unlike Andsager, he claims that there has been a ratcheting up of sexual

content in music videos over time. In his documentary series *Dreamworlds*, he notes that music videos tell very particular messages about men and women in American culture. He argues that, like other forms of advertising, music videos rely heavily on using female sexuality to grab attention, and female artists are subject to this representation and objectification (2007). Jhally argues all women who appear in music videos are subjected to what he calls the *pornographic gaze* - a more intensified version of the male gaze. He believes this gaze is the primary form of interpretation used by women when viewing music videos, and that women, as viewers of music videos, learn to internalize this gaze. Yet his analysis stops short of any grounded testing of this assertion.

Dixon, Zhang, and Conrad (2009) performed an audience reception study at an American university of the consumption of rap music videos among African American students and the relationship between music video consumption and accepting or rejecting certain ideas. In particular, they looked at the relationship between the acceptance of Afrocentric ideas, misogyny, and violence in relation to the quantity of videos survey respondents reported consuming. They found that women who consumed more rap music videos were more accepting of content they codified as misogynistic. It is relevant for my study to point out they did not control for male or female artist with regards to consumption.

Most research on music videos comes from the fields of communications and cultural studies. Some anthropological research on music videos has looked at the non-West. A few recent anthropological studies have examined music videos as ideological or political tools of authoritarian governments (Gilman 2014; Westmoreland 2016). Other publications have looked at the influence of MTV and other forms of American media on

developing youth in non-Western countries. Particularly, these studies examined how sexual content influences communities already undergoing change to traditional kinship structures (Ginsberg and Gokenge 2004). There has been, for the most part, no anthropological inquiry into music videos as a common cultural text in America despite the discipline's continued interest in media and gender in American Culture.

Given the thirty-plus years of work examining music videos, there is still an absence in the literature of a grounded analysis of whether the audience indeed takes away the ideas documented in content, semiotic, and discourse analysis of music videos. In particular, given Jhally's assertions, *is the male gaze the primary paradigm of interpretation women are using when viewing music videos, especially those of a female artist? Are these cultural texts of music videos just hyperbolic representations of cultural ideas, or are they teaching members of American culture, particularly women, to view life and their self-worth from an androcentric standpoint?* To answer these questions, we must look at the audience as the site of meaning-making (Rose 2007: 197). In the next chapter, I address both the theory and methods I used to answer these questions.

CHAPTER 4: Theory and Methods

In order to answer my three research questions: 1) Do women interpret music videos of female performers within the discourse of the male gaze? 2) Does dance experience alter the ways in which women interpret music videos of female artists? 3) Are there other discourses women use to understand music videos?, I used survey responses to a music video of a female artist with a sample of the media consuming community. Additionally, as the “Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)” music video helped inspired this research, I used it to survey the attitudes and responses. I hypothesized that women with experience in dance would interpret the text of music videos within a different discourse than the male gaze. My reasoning is based on cultural theories on gender and the body suggesting that a differing discourse would result from the different ways cultural actors, in this case dancers and non-dancers, use - and therefore think about - their bodies. I refer to these differences as embodiment practices. Below, I outline the theories that form my framework and describe my research methods.

Theoretical Framework

The underlying theories organizing my research include practice theory and performance theory. Practice theory is interested in cultural ideas and how they are reproduced, challenged, and changed through everyday lives of cultural actors (Ortner 2006). Practice theory, originating in the 1970s, is an intellectual extension of different cultural and social theories fused with postmodern feminist criticism (Ortner 1984). It attempts to not only account for the larger structures and ideas that organize a culture but also the ground level where these ideas are performed and reproduced, in particular, an individual's body. Outlined by Sherry Ortner (1984; 2006), and growing out of the works of

Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu, practice theory assumes that there is an evolving relationship among cultural ideas/discourses reproduced in cultural texts and cultural actors. Practice theory differs from traditional semiotics, Foucauldian, and priming theories in that it recognizes the agency of cultural actors to accept, reject, and negotiate with hegemonic ideas and discourses in their culture.

Following from the works of Foucault, Bourdieu, Victor Turner and Simone de Beauvoir, Judith Butler proposes a similar theory of the relationship of culture and the body she that refers to as performativity. Outlined first in her 1988 essay “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory” and elaborated on further in *Gender Trouble* (1993), Butler established performance theory in relation to gender studies. Gender, for Butler, is the accumulation of repeated and “constitutive acts,” not an object (Butler 1988, 519). Like Beauvoir, gender is an historic idea whereby the understanding of “a women” is both culturally and temporally constrained as it is acts alone not symbolism attached to sexual dimorphism that makes someone a woman. She argues that gender is a survival strategy, where performing well increases the likelihood of survival and prevents sanctioning from other cultural actors and societal institutions. In her approach, all gender is an act, and the body never precedes its gendering (Butler 1988). Furthermore, “The act that embodied agents *are* inasmuch as they dramatically and actively embody and, indeed, *wear* certain cultural significations. Is clearly not one’s act alone” (Butler 1988, 525). Therefore, gender exists insofar as it is both performed and witnessed. Butler’s concept has been criticized for undermining the idea of a gendered actor, because it appears gender is wrought onto our bodies by our culture before we are sentient individuals in a way that subverts the agency of individuals in self-

expression (Salih 2007). Her concept is useful in that it shows that gender is not innate essence, but the assemblage of ideas that manifest in the ephemeral performances in day-to-day life. It is in this understanding of the act and its need to be witnessed that we can see space for transgression of established norms by cultural actors through their performances.

Embodiment in Cultural Theory

Related to both practice and performative theories is the concept of embodiment. For about the past twenty years, the concept of embodiment has been debated among anthropologists and sociologists interested in the processes by which cultural and individual ideas about the body are manifested in performance by individual, i.e. cultural actors (Thomas 2003). For most of the modern era, Western thought was dominated by Cartesian dualism. This worldview focused on the separateness of the mind and the body. Over the past century, this dualism has been deconstructed. Culture is no longer believed to exist solely in the mind. Some scholars understand the body to be the most basic materialization of culture. Marcel Mauss argues: “The body is man’s first and most natural instrument. Or more accurately, not to speak of instruments, man’s first and most natural technical object” (2009, 77). Mauss referred to the means by which people learn how to sit, stand, walk and swim as techniques of the body, a process that is culturally specific. Since Mauss, practice theory and performance theory has continued to expand and has become an analytical framework for understanding culture and the body.

Helen Thomas, an anthropologist and former professional dancer, explains that academic inquiry into “the body as a cultural space” was marginal until about the 1990s (Thomas 2003: 2). Thomas attributes this lack of address to the theoretical foundation of

humanities in mind/body dualism and to the foundations of sociology and anthropology in attempting to understand social order, not the individual. She breaks down the dominant academic approaches to the body up to the 1990s into two main schools of thought held by social constructionists and biologists.

Biological or naturalistic explanations of the body reiterate the Cartesian worldview. They emphasize the observable physical differences between bodies as biological. This framework focuses on physical and “experiential elements,” - embodiment is understood as the visual, physical state of a human body (Thomas 2003, 13). The mind perceives the body, and this perception by the mind establishes the body as an empirical fact. For those who take a biological stance, the mind’s process of perception is separate from, and independent of, the body’s reality. In contrast, social constructionists’ explanations of the body and mind define it as an invention of society and believe that biological explanations of the body are essentialistic (Thomas 2003). It is through deconstruction that the body can be analyzed as a cultural text. Social constructionists focus on the discursive and symbolic aspects of the body: they believe embodiment is the performance of a particular bodily discourse. However, Thomas points out the shortfalls with this polarization in thinking, arguing the denial of biology is as overly simplistic as biological explanations are, given the fact that humans all have physical bodies, and that bodies can substantially alter and inhibit the way people experience their cultural world (Thomas 2003).

Though research on the body as a “cultural space” was heavily limited until the 1990s, one of the earliest academic discussions of embodiment as a cultural process comes from Marcel Mauss in his 1934 essay “Techniques of The Body.” Mauss defined techniques of the body as “the ways in which from society to society men know how to use their

bodies” (Mauss [1934] 2009, 74). In his essay, he runs through various examples of what he argues are culturally specific processes as well as methodological ways we can organize these different techniques for research (Mauss [1934] 2009; Csordas 1990). In one example, Mauss discusses the transmission of walking style cross-culturally. After spending time in America, Mauss recognized that American women had a very particular style of walking that he had only seen in American films. On returning to France, Mauss became aware that the American style of walking was being adopted by French women. He attributed this shift in walking to the influence of Hollywood (Mauss [1934] 2009: 75). Mauss refers to the process by which individuals learn and exhibit various techniques, these culturally specific movement repertoires, as *habitus*, his term for embodiment. Mauss took a holistic stance on understanding habitus. He argued that in order to understand the process of habitus, we have to take a “triple viewpoint” (Mauss [1934] 2009: 76), meaning that not only the biological and sociological variables be accounted for but the psychological as well. He argued that embodiment involves both education and imitation at the individual level, “but the whole, the ensemble, is conditioned by the three elements indissolubly mixed together” (Mauss [1934] 2009: 76).

Michel Foucault explored embodiment in the context of the nation-state and the influence of power. He argued that modern states used normalized discourse to generate ideas of natural behaviors. In his work *Discipline and Punishment*, he argues that the state produces *docile bodies* (Foucault 1977: 135). Individuals learn to conform to their culture’s expectations and behave and use their bodies in the appropriate ways out of fear of sanctioning. Foucault believed that the institutions of the industrial era: factories, formalized education, and governments promote and enforce a particular discourse of

what is and what is not appropriate uses of the body. Though discourses change over time, power is inherent in the ability to make and reinforce them. Over time, individuals discipline themselves out of fear that they are being watched and judged, like prisoners in a panopticon; the self-regulating individual is then a docile body.

Raewyn W. Connell eloquently notes, “the surface on which cultural meanings are inscribed is not featureless, and it does not stay still” (2006, 51). Connell’s *body reflexive practice*, outlined as a paradigm to understanding gender and sexuality, takes into account the cultural definitions attached to the body based on sex, how individuals use their bodies, their experiences, psychologies, and how they relate these factors back to their cultures’ definitions (61). Much like Mauss, Connell has attempted to account for all the variables acting on an individual. In this approach, embodiment is the result of a cyclical process, one in which cultural actors learn, perform, reflect, learn, and perform again bodily discourses.

Since an individual’s experiences with and use of their body changes over the course of their lifetime, Connell’s body reflexive practice defines embodiment as a state of constant flux. For example, a teenage girl understands and performs gender in a fundamentally different manner than a postmenopausal woman who has undergone a double mastectomy. In a Foucauldian way, Connell also notes power relations of hegemony and sanctioning in the body reflexive process. For example, boys in Anglo-American cultures may ostracize a boy who participates in dance for taking part in a characteristically feminine activity. In reflection of the bullying, that boy may change his behavior to conform to the dominant discourse of masculinity or choose to continue dancing.

In addition to practice theory, and performance theory, my research questions are influenced by Connell’s concept of the body reflexive practice (2005) and the

understanding that gender exists as performance by cultural actors and is not inherently determined by the biological sex of an individual. I approached my study accepting this paradigm as the relationship between cultural ideals of gender and the cultural actor's agency. Given this understanding of culture and the agency of the individual, it is important not to look exclusively at content analysis and semiotics analysis of cultural text, as Jhally does in his study of music videos, but rather to examine the ground level where these ideas materialize, are reproduced or reinterpreted by cultural actors.

Dance and Embodiment

Nowhere is the concept of embodiment more employed than in the world of dance. Some argue that this is because dance is essentially the study of embodiment (O'Keeffe 2009; Smith 2008). Within the field of dance, embodiment, as a concept, has been a useful paradigm in both pedagogical research and artistic creation.

Wayne McGregor, an English choreographer and founder of the dance company Random Dance, explores embodiment as a subject in his choreography (O'Keeffe 2009). For his 2004 piece, *Ataxai*, McGregor worked with neuroscientists studying disorders that affect bodily coordination. In 2005, he choreographed a piece, titled *Amu*, after working with cardiologists researching the different ways emotions take place in the body. More recently, McGregor worked with cognitive scientists who were attempting to identify kinesthetic intelligence. In an interview, McGregor explains that he believes dance "engenders a culture of physical thinking and changes "how you think about your body and what it can do" (O'Keeffe 2009: 40). McGregor believes that the West is currently consumed by a negative body culture that influences the lack of interest in dance. He argues that dance has a fundamental role in fostering a more positive body culture. For McGregor,

dance offers the ability to transform embodiment practices by making people aware of the process of embodiment.

This idea is echoed by Betty Block and Judith Lee Kissell, who built upon a Foucauldian perspective further arguing that people “lose the awareness of the embodied self” through the naturalization of cultural ideas (2001: 11). They believe that people are “body-subjects” which involves being a member of a particular culture, existing in a world of symbols tied to the material of the body (Block and Kissell 2001: 8). Noting the philosophy of choreographer Rudolf von Laban, they argue that people have the ability to become aware of, learn to develop, and re-shape their embodiment practice. Dance, in particular, is one way for people to become aware of their *embodied self*. For them, dance is an embodied way of being-in-the-world and offers an alternative discourse of movement.

In a case study of gender construction among adolescents, Libby B. Blume (2003) argues that dance instruction in physical education classes can help teenagers understand the socially constructed and performative nature of gender. She concludes from her fieldwork that dance experience gives students an awareness of the cultural construction of the mind/body split. She argues that this awareness can help teenagers understand the difference between their bodies and cultural expectations based on gender, as well as teach teens to value their bodies and desires. Blume has observed a shift in embodiment practices among adolescents due to exposure to dance. Her observation further supports the stances of McGregor (2009), von Laban (1988), and Block and Kissell (2001) that dance generates an awareness of the social construction of gender and people's agency in reshaping their embodiment practices. As illustrated in dance theory through the concept of embodiment, I also assume that dance experience creates an awareness of the

performative nature of gender; an awareness that I hypothesize leads dancers to not objectify other females with the male gaze.

Description of Study Population

My recruitment criteria were individuals over the age of eighteen. Because of the complexities of human subjects review, I limited my study to students at Western Washington University, a university with a population of approximately 15,500 students (Western 2016). Originally, I planned to survey only women since I was interested women's use of the male gaze as a primary interpretive paradigm, but this approach ignored the complexity of gender and biological sex. I understand gender to be the interplay between the individual, their biological makeup, and their cultural community. If I were to have included just women in the study, would I only have included people that identified as women? Or only those who identified their biological sex as female? To account for the complexity of gender and control better for this variable, I opened the survey up to all genders. The survey (see Appendix A) does ask for individuals to identify their biological sex and the gender with which they identify. Furthermore, I controlled for the intersectionality of other social statuses such as ethnicity through demographic questions which participants were also asked to self-identify. I recruited participants through flyers and by asking professors and department administrators to inform students of the survey through email. Students were incentivized to participate in the survey with a drawing for three Starbucks gift cards.

Description of Testing Material



Figure 1: Screenshot of “Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)” (Beyoncé 2008)

The original inspiration for this research project came after a debate that broke out amongst students regarding the music video “Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It).” To test if a divide existed amongst dancer and non-dancers use of the male gaze, I employed the same video for the survey. It was produced in 2008 simultaneously with Beyoncé’s video “If I Were a Boy” (Vernallis 2013). The funding for production was given as a lump sum for the two videos with most of the funding going to the multi-day shoot for “If I Were a Boy.”

“Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)” was filmed in one day. Compositionally, it is exclusively in black and white and appears to be single shot from start to finish (See Figure 1). The video features Beyoncé and two other dancers performing a dance routine to the song wearing simple black leotards, and black high-heeled shoes with the exception of Beyoncé who is also wearing a metal arm piece that starts on her left hand and extends up her left forearm.

The video was inspired after Beyoncé and director, Jake Nava, saw a YouTube clip of the Bob Fosse dance “Mexican Breakfast” set to the song “Walk it Out” by Ukn (Vernallis 2013). The video itself is a pastiche of the Bob Fosse dance: pastiche and intertextuality are characteristic of postmodern media and specifically music videos (Sturken and Cartwright 2006, Andsager 2006). The video is also an example of the prosumer relationship characteristic of the post-MTV/YouTube era of music videos. Here the popularity and appeal of a prosumer made film, “Mexican Breakfast” set to “Walk It Out,” directly inspired a corporately produced music video.

The video itself is so pervasive in American culture it has produced multiple parodies and its own urban legend: that the video features the choreographer dancing in drag. It is unlikely that my survey population has not been exposed to this particular music video. As result of it its own history as a popular text in American culture, it is possible that cultural actors will have some prejudices that could alter the discourse they use to view it. I elaborate on this further in the following chapter.

Narrative of Procedures

After identifying my subject population and doing preliminary research, I developed an online survey using Google documents. I wanted to use an online survey to make survey taking as convenient as possible to ensure participation. When submitting my IRB application, I learned from the Human Subject Review Committee that Google was not considered secure enough for collecting any personal data of subjects. I was given access to SNAP survey software, and this software was added to a computer in an anthropology department lab that I had access too. While learning the software, and editing my survey, Western discontinued their license with SNAP, which prevented me from launching my full

survey to collect data. I was given access to Qualtrics survey software, which being based entirely online allowed me to work remotely from campus.

Since one of the drawbacks of a self-administered survey is the possibility that questions are misinterpreted, I began with a pilot study to validate my survey (Bernard 2006: 253-260). In my first pilot study, I used fellow graduate students and asked them to provide me with feedback on any issues they saw. I had initially designed my survey with open-ended questions that I was going to analyze through either content or narrative analysis. My colleagues quickly informed me that they felt open-ended questions might be too tedious for survey-takers, and that I might end up with very few completed surveys. At this point, I decided to model my survey on the survey used by Travis L. Dixon et al. (2009) which utilized a seven point Likert-type scale to examine the relationship between rap music video consumption and perceptions among African-American university students.

My survey was structured into three parts. To control for variables such as ethnicity, age, gender, sex, and sexual preference, the first part of the survey collected data regarding those social statuses. The second part of the survey asked participants about their experience with dance and athletics, as well as questions regarding their media consumption habits related to music videos. The third part of the survey began with participants being instructed to watch the music video "Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)" by Beyoncé. After watching the video, participants were prompted to respond to a series of statements about the music video they just watched using a seven-point Likert-type scale response ranging from "Entirely Disagree"-1 to "Entirely Agree"-7 (See Appendix A). The last question was open-ended and asked participants if they had anything else they wanted to add.

As a control for the study and to better understand embodiment, I also collected data regarding participants' experience with athletics and organized sports. Because practices theory assumes that the ways in which individuals use their bodies changes the way they think about their bodies, I thought it possible that there would be some variation in people with extensive experience in athletics compared to individuals with no athletic and or dance experience. Since Dixon et al. (2009) also looked at the role of media exposure and attitudes, I collected data on participants' frequency of viewing music videos: Asking: "Approximately how often do you watch music videos?" with the response options ranging from at least once a day-1 to almost never-5.

I expected to see a negative correlation between dance experience and opinions typical of the male gaze. I anticipated individuals with dance experience to agree to statements about the video that emphasized technique, skill, and positive effects on viewers. Given that the male gaze characterizes women as sex objects existing for male pleasure, for individuals with little or no dance experience, I expected to observe responses agreeing with that representation of women. Specifically, I speculated that participants would agree to statements about the music video being sexually explicit, the clothing being revealing, the dance movements to be sexually suggestive, and that the video had an adverse effect on women who viewed it.

I attempted to follow up my survey with brief semi-structured interviews (Appendix B) with a sample of my survey participants; in order to gain more data and depth for the results from the survey, I conducted this interview in person. Of the respondents, I contacted only one participated in the interview. In the following chapter, I summarize the data and account for the results.

CHAPTER 5: Results and Discussion

This study addresses the role of the audience of music videos in accepting or rejecting the discourse of the male gaze. Within the framework of practice and performance theory, I hypothesize that embodiment is a variable in cultural actors acceptance or rejection of hegemonic discourses when interpreting cultural text. Specifically, I hypothesize that individuals with experience in dance would most likely use an alternative discourse than the male gaze. The status of dance exposure and participation was the guiding independent variable in testing this hypothesis.

Through simple linear regression, I looked at the relationship to between survey responses and number of years of dance instruction. To support my hypothesis, I expected there would be a negative relationship between dance exposure and the use of the male gaze as an interpretive discourse. Given previous research that examined attitudes as primed through media exposure (Dixon et al. 2009), I tested for correlation between frequency of media consumption and respondents' attitudes. Also, I looked at the possibility of correlation between attitudes and gender, sexuality, age, and ethnicity. Below I account for the data, the results of the regression test, and discuss it in the context of previous research, recurring themes from open-ended responses, and interviews.

Years of different trial runs and testing mediums for my research led me to attempt to streamline questions into a quantifiable format using a seven-point Likert-type scale and use limited open-ended responses. Despite all efforts and incentives to garner participation, the total number of participants for my survey was 50. After reviewing the data, and wanting to add more depth and context I attempted to conducted semi-structured interviews. I contacted seven survey respondents to participate in brief semi-structured

interview: only one person participated. Additionally, I was fortunate to pose a question regarding the male gaze to professional ballerina Misty Copeland in a public lecture. I ground the data I have assembled and results in both my theoretical framework and the existing literature. Though limited, the following results represent a starting point for audience studies of the male gaze and stand as one of the first attempt in the more than forty years of academic discussion to test the power male gaze as a cultural discourse on cultural actors.

Survey Data

The sample (N=50) consisted of students from a public university. The age range of my respondents was from 19 to 36 years old, with a mean age of 23.64 years old (SD: 3.79). 80% (40) of respondents identified as biologically female. Gender identities of respondents were slightly more diverse: 76% (38) of respondents identified as female, 18% (9) identified as male, 4% (2) identified as trans (one adding "non-binary" in the survey) and 2% (1) identified as "genderqueer/ gender fluid." Forty respondents listed themselves as heterosexual. Two respondents identified as homosexual. Four identified as bisexual and four identified as other, listing: "pansexual," "queer," and "no idea."

Of the survey participants, 76% of my respondents identified as white/Caucasian, 6% Identified as Hispanic, 10% identified as Asian, and 4% identified as other which included: Chicana, Caucasian/Asian, and Arab. None of my survey participants identified as African Americans, Native Americans, or Pacific Islanders.

Previous studies, like Dixon et al. (2009), have looked at the role in priming through media exposure in shaping attitudes of media consumers. Priming theory assumes that cultural ideas are taught, reinforced, and accepted as natural the more an individual is

exposed to them. To compare my results to those in earlier studies and to see if trends of priming were evident, I collected data on music video viewing habits of my survey participants. From the results, I found that 18% of those surveyed watch videos every day, 38% watch at least once a week, 36% watch at least once a month, 4% at least once a year, and 6% almost never. Almost half of the respondents, 44%, reported watch videos on a personal computer. 9% reported watching music videos on a computer in a lab or at work. 41% of respondents reported watching music videos on a mobile device. Only 7% reported viewing music videos on television. These numbers reflect what we now know about the evolution of the medium used to distribute music videos and the shift away from television to the internet (Andsager 2006; Vernallis 2013). The question: “When do you watch music videos?” was meant to understand any particular context cultural actors may view music videos, and if that context shows any relationship towards their attitudes related to the male gaze. Most respondents reported watching music videos when they are bored (25%), followed by relaxing (22%), and “when I am with friends” (18 %). When asked to elaborate on their music video viewing habits most participants stated that they watch music videos as a means to access the music itself, only one of the responses noted watching music videos for the sake of the video content, stating, “I tend to re-watch the ones that I like over and over for a really long time.”

One characteristic response was, “I usually don’t watch the full videos. I just use YouTube as my primary listening service.” This is interesting given that YouTube has launched a subscription based listening service that provides advertisement free streaming of content for the purpose of listening to the music (YouTube 2017). For example, someone with this subscription could launch a music video on their mobile device, close the app so

the window showing footage was no longer visible and continue to hear the audio of the video. It appears despite the academic interest in the visual content of music videos, current trends especially with my survey sample, are using internet sourced music videos to listen music without having to purchase a song or album. Since most of my respondents seemed to note using music videos as a way to access music and not for the visual content itself, it is possible that they are not watching the visual content at all. If this is a trend in larger culture, or at least among this age range, it is possible that music video consumers are not being “primed” to use discourses like the male gaze the same way consumers had been when Jhally last published his search ten years ago. Further studies could examine this trend in viewing habits and its relationship to larger cultural discourses.

Most respondents had participated in organized sports (42; 82%). The range of years of sports participation was 1 - 30 years, with a mean of 8.1 years (SD: 5.6). In response to the question. “Do you like to dance?”: 62% of respondents said “Yes,” 24% said “Depends,” and 14% chose “No.” Of the “Depends” respondents added: “only when I am alone,” “Only when I am drinking,” “At dances or alone, never formally,” and “Very rarely unless I get hyped.” Thirty-three (66%) respondents reported having taken dance classes, the most commonly reported dance class was taken was ballet (64% of those who had taken dance classes reported taking ballet). The range of years reported of dance education was 1-20, with a mean of 4.9 years (SD: 5.6). 84% of survey respondents reported to have participated in social dance (See APPENDIX C for selected tables of data).

Regression Results

Data of age, race, sex, gender, years of dance experience, media exposure, years of athletic experiences were run as independent variables against the responses to the Likert-

style attitude questions which were understood to be the dependent variables. I hypothesized that there would be a negative relationship between the number of years of dance experience and acceptance of statements focusing on objectification, and sexualization of women which are characteristic of the discourse of the male gaze. These statements included: *In general, I found the dance in the video to be sexually suggestive; In general, I found the dance moves to be sexually suggestive; In general, I found the dancers in the video to be objectified; In general I found the costumes to be sexually suggestive.* Initially plotting my data on scatter plots revealed no linear patterns.

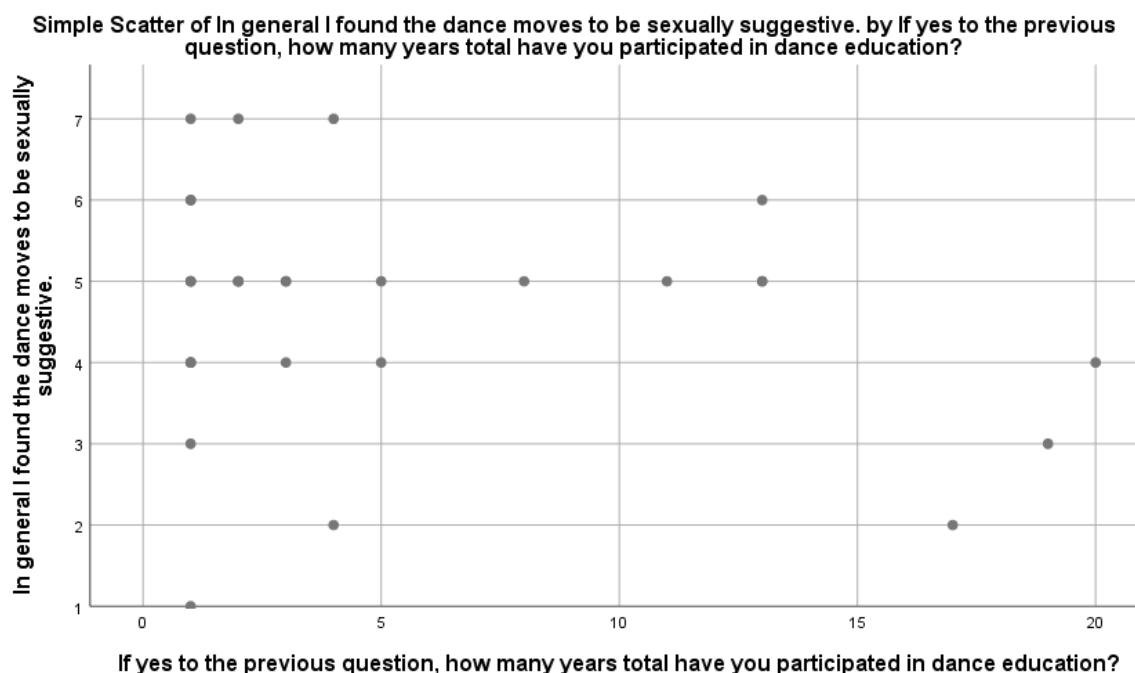


Table 1: Scatter Plot of years of dance education and responses to the question *In general I found the dance move to be sexually suggestive*, 1=Entirely Disagree 7=Entirely Agree

In keeping with my hypothesis, I looked at the linear relationship between number of years of dance experience and responses to the question *In general, I found the dance in the video to be sexually suggestive.* As Table 1 illustrates, there is no perceivable trend of correlation among the data points; this lack of a linear trend was characteristic of all the variables

tested. Using SPSS, I calculated both Pearson's correlation coefficient and performed simple linear regression on the survey data and found no strong or significant correlations. I followed up with multivariable models of some of the data. Figure 2 tested if age, frequency of music video viewing and dance experience were predictive measure to the statement: *In general, I found the costumes to be sexually suggestive*. In summary, there is no perceivable predictive relationship between any of the independent variables and the anticipated dependent variables; below, I explain and contextualize these results.

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.244a	.059	-.049	1.627
a Predictors: (Constant), What year were you born?, Approximately how often do you watch music videos?, If yes to the previous question, how many years total have you participated in dance education?				

Figure 2: Multivariable model for age, music video viewing frequency and year of dance education as predictors of responses to *In general, I found the costumes to be sexually suggestive*

Qualitative Results

Of the surveyed statements, *In general, I found the costumes to be sexually suggestive*, was included specifically because of the debate that inspired this research. At one point in this debate, a female student felt the dancers were being objectified in the Beyoncé music video because of what she believed was sexually revealing clothing. One student openly objected to her statement shaking her head and stated: "They're leotards!" As a dancer, I understand the definitive dress of western dancers, the leotard, to be related to safety, not sexual exhibitionism. The visibility of joints to instructors, especially the knees and hips,

ensures the prevention of injury (Blume 2003). The student who had openly objected to the idea the costumes were sexually revealing told me afterward that she had grown up doing dance. I did not find a statistical correlation between the acceptance or rejection of these statements characteristic of the male gaze and dance experience, or any of the other controlling variables.

Recurring themes in open-ended question and interview responses did however reflect some division between dancers and non-dancers. One survey respondent with no dance education wrote: "I felt like the focus of their dance was their hips so I could understand why their legs would be bare to draw more attention to the dance moves there however I still found it very sexual, not that sexual dancing is always bad. This was more 'classy' sexual dance in my opinion." Here the respondent is clearly using devices of the male gaze almost as a yardstick, judging the video against, and like Jhally, never describing what is definitely sexual and non-sexual dancing. Butler's (1988) understanding of performativity establishes the body as an object that does not preexist its gendering. Since visibility of a female body is understood as sexual within the dominant discourse of the male gaze, then it is possible that dance moves themselves are *de facto* interpreted as sexual when executed by a female dancers. Or it could be that isolated or initiated movements from different parts of body,, that the discourse defines as sexual, result in a movement being defined as sexual. Dixon et al. (2009) also coded the music videos they used in their study for what they considered "provocative" clothing and dance without any empirical definition of what they meant by provocative. The relativity of the word provocative is troubling academically. Therefore, further audience reception studies that

code for different movements by dancers, male and female, could examine the relationship between discourse and reception of dance.

One respondent that has over 13 years of dance experience and reported to be working as a dance instructor, wrote:

Queen B is one of a kind. Yes, she has ways of sexualizing herself, but she does so on her own terms and to show that she's not doing it for anyone BUT herself. She is beautiful, she is sexy, she is strong, she is independent...which is why it's so empowering. She dances/acts/talks/etc. this way because she has enough self respect to see this as a form of expression and art, not as a way to lure in men's attention, like a mermaid would to a sailor.

Here, it is apparent that this respondent has an awareness of the male gaze as objectifying women as sexual objects, but she believes that Beyoncé as a performer in an act of exhibitionism is not performing within that discourse, she performing consciously counter to that discourse. This subversive intention is almost spelled out in another music video, “Video Phone” (2009), where Beyoncé sings “If you likin’ this position you can tape it” while dancing in front of men whose heads have been replaced with cameras (See Figure 3). Here, Beyoncé and the video’s production team are utilizing the mechanism of disembodiment typical of the male gaze through parody. In most of the academic discussions surround music videos and performance, the mentioning of sexuality is pejorative (Ansager 2006, Jhally 1995, 2007). Any sexual display by a female performer is instantly dismissed as objectifying, rather than any acknowledgment to the possibility of agency. This lack of acknowledgement makes it appear as though most academics have internalized misogynistic ideas of female sexuality and the male gaze (Valenti 2009). The respondent quoted above, a dancer, clearly points out, that female sexuality is not inherently objectifying. She more importantly utilizes an alternative discourse that I attribute to her status as a dancer who “has enough self respect to see this as a form of

expression and art, not as a way to lure in men's attention.” Professional ballerina Misty Copeland reiterated this opinion when I asked if she ever feels objected in performance. She replied that she never feels objectified, and explained through an example with a discussion she had had with Prince that dance is not the appropriate text for that analysis (2017). Though the quantitative survey data showed no trends, grounded qualitative data seems to suggest that the differing embodiment practices cause dancers to reject the male gaze as a discourse, and even find it dismissive to their art form.

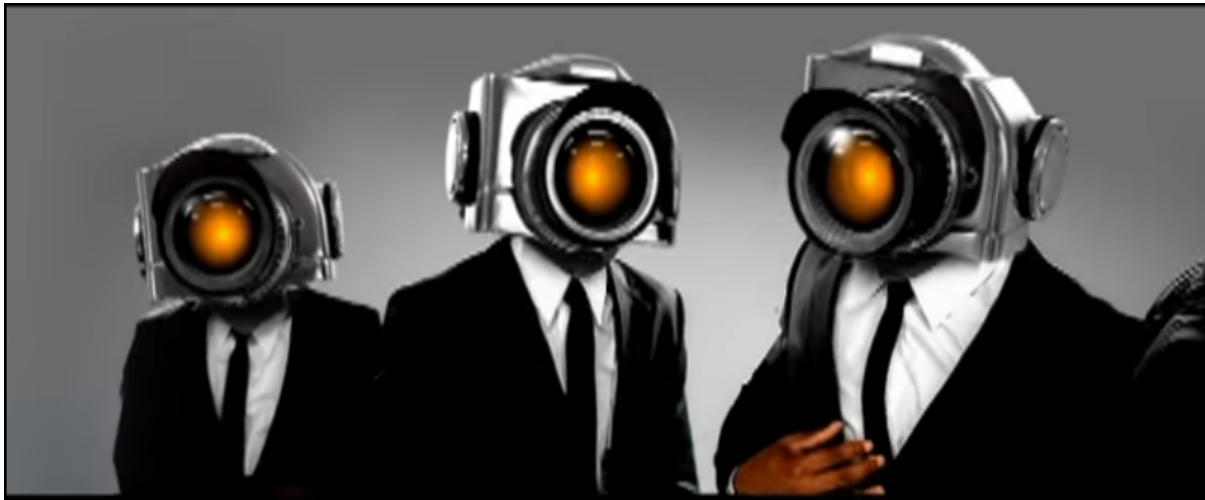


Figure 3: Screenshot of males with cameras for heads in “Video Phone” (Beyoncé 2009)

Jhally has argued that consumers of music videos internalize the male gaze and that these internalizations influence the ways men view women and women view themselves (1995, 2007). He argues that the male gaze subordinates women as objects for male pleasure and that internalizing this discourse, women, and men learn to see women only in this fashion. Other studies on music videos seem preoccupied with this idea that assumes music video negatively influences the people who consume them (Dixon et al. 2009, Andsager 2006, Baxter et al. 1985). To test this, I ask survey participants to respond to statements regarding consequences of viewing the music video. These included: *I think this*

video negatively influences the women who view it; I think this video positively influences the women that view it; I think this video negatively influences the men who view it; I think this video positively influences the men who view it; I think this video has no influence on the men or women who view it; viewing this video causes me to feel insecure about my body or appearance, viewing this video causes me to feel motivated or empowered. Though the survey responses are specific to one text, there was no correlation or trend to any of the dependent variables. Regardless of dance experience, there does not appear to a consensus among cultural actors on whether viewing music videos has any consequences for cultural actors. These responses and the lack of correlation or trend in acceptance of the male gaze among my sample does show one thing: that is no evidence to support that idea that the male gaze is the primary discourse used when viewing music videos.

One of the greatest shortcomings of my data is the lack of representation of people of color, in particular individuals who identify as African American or Black. Beyoncé is an African American performer. In the “Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)” music video, she is featured with what appears to be two other African American female dancers. In addition to the statements regarding the consequence of viewing music videos related to gender, I collected data of whether respondents felt that music video negatively or positively affected Black men or women. Though I found no perceivable trends between attitudes regarding ethnicity and any of the independent variables, my data is skewed white. One survey respondent, who identified as a heterosexual, white/Caucasian woman wrote: “I don't think this video should have a correlation with skin coloring.” The intersectional reality of race and gender specifically with regards to Black women in American culture has been a growing area of feminist social research since the backlash to white hegemonic

assumption of the Second wave feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Tong 2009). Brenda Dixon Gottschild talks about this intersectionality specifically in relation to dance in her book *The Black Dancing Body: A Geography From Coon to Cool* (2003). Misty Copeland (George 2016) has also elaborated on this intersectional reality from her experience as the first Black principal ballet dancer with American Ballet Theater. Copeland has explained that not knowing of other Black professional dancers growing up made her doubt her goal of becoming a professional, and she feels it is positive for Black children that she is visible and recognized as a Black Ballerina (George et al. 2016, Copeland 2017). In contrast to the white respondent's aversion to thinking about the consequences a music video featuring a Black female performer, it is evident from at least one prominent Black professional that lack of visibility of minorities creates doubt that they can hold specific statuses or power in their society. Copeland's experiences reinforce the concept of symbolic annihilation, whereby common representations/narratives in media, or the lack of, limit minorities' beliefs that they are fully enfranchised members of society (Newsom 2011; Gerbner and Gross 1976). As a result of this lack of representation, minorities fail to seek statuses and positions of authority outside of those representations/narratives.

One respondent who identified as a gay white man noted what he perceived as a positive role of this music video among gay black men:

I, a gay white man, recognized the significance of this song for the African American gay male community whenever I would go out dancing. When this song first came out many gay men (of all ethnicity's) began to learn the dance and would show their skills off at the club (or anywhere there was room to perform). They would take over the dance floor encouraging any others who could do the entire routine to join in. This was received and praised each time it happened. People would completely surround the group of dancers and cheer them on. The power of this song was especially recognizable when I went to the Charlotte, NC and there was about 20 young black gay men who dominated the dance floor with this dance routine one night. Everyone who wanted to participate quickly joined in behind the leader and

the entire dance club surrounded the dancers to watch. People were even putting out cigarettes and running back inside to watch.

This respondent observed this music video and its associated dance as reinforcing community among Black gay men. In addition to these positive relationships between visibility and Black identity, research has demonstrated a discursive history of the hypersexualization of Black women in America (Holmes 2016). A trend that led bell hooks to call Beyoncé a “terrorist” for her representations of Black femininity (2014). Janet Mock, noted feminist author and Black trans woman, has argued that hook’s dismissal of Beyoncé’s representation of femininity is embedded in misogynic anti-femme attitudes:

Femme feminists/writers/thinkers/artists are consistently dismissed, pressured to transcend presentation in order to prove our wokeability...These hierarchies of respectability that generations of feminists have internalized will not save us from patriarchy. Femmephobia, like whorephobia, must be abolished in our spaces, our theories and our critiques of one another and one another's work. [2016, Tweeted in succession]

Though Mock and bell hooks’ perspectives cannot be seen as replacing the lack of participants who identify as Black or African American, the debate amongst these two self-described feminist authors does provide insight into the reality and complexity of intersectionality with regards to race and gender. It is worth pointing out the generational divide between hooks and Mock is characteristic of the divide between Second and Third Wave Feminist theories (Tong 2009). In the context of Connell’s (2005) definition of gender and the body reflexive practice, gender performance and its interpretation is an individualized experience. Intersectionality of dance experience, age, race, sexuality, and gender identity alter the interpretive discourse cultural actors are using. Within these limited results, there is no clear data supporting the idea that women are internalizing the male gaze, but that some individuals may be utilizing and some subverting the discourse of

the male gaze based on their individual assemblage of social statuses including embodiment.

It is possible that Beyoncé has generated a public persona that results in the use of alternative discourses that subverts the dominant male gaze. For example, one respondent wrote: “Knowing beforehand that Beyoncé is a feminist added to my feeling of being empowered.” In her 2013 song, “Flawless” Beyoncé features segments from a TED talk by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie titled “We Should All Be Feminist” (2012). In some of the sampled audio, Adichie defines the term feminist, where she can be heard saying: “Feminist: A person who believes in the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes.” To see if some respondents are responding to Beyoncé specifically, further research should include music videos by other female performers.

The main limitation of this study is the sample size and its skew towards a traditionally dominant group of white women in American culture (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Though the quantified survey data does not support my hypothesis, it also fails to support the assumption that the male gaze is the primary means of interpretation used when viewing music videos of women. This evidence, though limited, stand in contradiction to the larger arguments about media, objectification, and music videos over the past twenty years. From the framework of practice and performance theory and Connell's body reflexive practice, it is possible that the lack of any statistically perceivable trend is the result of gender being a more individualized/complex experience than quantitative data can illustrate. Though cultural texts may be produced within hegemonic discourses, we take away what is relevant to our various social statuses.

CHAPTER 6: Moving beyond the Gaze

As a dominant cultural text, music videos have only begun to garner the level of academic attention they deserve. Music videos have a long history, one that preceded the addition of sound to film and grew out of a method of advertising. Today they are a ubiquitous text in American culture and can be produced by almost anyone with the ability to set images to sound and upload it to the Internet.

The existing research on music videos has emphasized the commonality of themes such as sex, love, and violence, and has focused specifically on the representation of gender in relation to these themes. In particular, most research notes the perceived objectification of women for heterosexual male pleasure in music videos. Laura Mulvey's concept of the male gaze has become inescapable in academic discussion of film, art and media, but its overall usefulness in analysis of text seems overdone if not contrived. Whereby symbols attributed to the gaze result in blanket readings of objectification and dismissal of text as being complicit to misogyny: as illustrated by Janet Mock's response to Beyoncé when discussing her reaction *Lemonade* by Beyoncé.

From a Third Wave feminist perspective, this over-reading of the male gaze subverts any voicing or reappropriation of symbols by women in creating and interpreting art, and media. Post-modern art and media are defined by juxtaposing traditionally contradictory symbols to counter and negotiate with existing discourse (Sturken and Cartwright 2009). Given this, the universalistic application of the gaze seems dangerously androcentric, if not inherently misogynistic. The crutch that male gaze has become to some scholars is completely disconnected from Mulvey's original intentions (Mulvey et al. 2015). In relation to feminist theory, I hope illustrating this conflict in interpretation among women lends to

a conversation about what it is to be a fully enfranchised member of a society. For example, feminists argue that patriarchy constructs women's value in relation to their reproductive functioning (Newsom 2011). Historically, Second Wave feminists have attacked representations of female sexuality to combat patriarchal limitations in an attempt to expand women's understood value in society. However, as many sex-positive Third Wave feminists have pointed out, this move resulted in the dismissal of symbols related to traditional femininity and attitudes towards female sexuality on par with those held by contemporary conservative Christians (Renegar and Sowards 2009; Paglia 1992; Mock 2016). All adult human are sexual beings; therefore, denying women their sexuality is denying them their full humanity. Related to the conflict that inspire this research, further work can examine theoretical questions within feminism: *can women be fully enfranchised members of their society, in particular American culture, if we have to forgo part of our humanity in doing so?* Furthermore, *how do we have meaningful intersectional conversations about the representation of female sexuality?*

Jhally specifically utilized the concept of the male gaze when examining the discourse of gender in music videos. He and Dixon et al. (2009) in examining gender discourse in music videos, assume that they prime consumers to accept the discourse of the male gaze as natural, thereby reproducing misogynistic opinions about women and their bodies. The issue with this perspective, as my research demonstrates, is that it imposes a single reading and does not take into account cultural actors' abilities to accept, reject, or negotiate with cultural discourses. Inspired by a debate among students and my own disagreement with this single reading, I sought to test the power of the male gaze at the level of the audience. My work calls into question the usefulness of priming based on

assumption about text and cultural actors. Priming theories applied in media studies have sensationalized the causal relationship between text and behavior of cultural actors. More importantly, there are democratic consequences to this relationship being sensationalized. Assumptions about media priming have led to institutional censorship of media for fears of encouraging sexual promiscuity, violence and antisocial behavior (Paglia 1992; Franco 2004). MTV itself had long history of music video censorship and limiting airplay of videos to late night hours. As many critics have pointed out, the application of such censorship on MTV did not reflect fears of violence or sexuality as much as it reflected enforcing hegemonic ideas of violence and sexuality (Paglia 1992; Franco 2004). For example, Madonna's 2000 music video "What it Feels Like for a Girl" was banned from airplay on MTV in the United States for its depictions of violence. The video features Madonna with an elderly female accomplice on an action pact adventure in which they steal and destroy cars, rob a man at an ATM, harass police officers, and chase down street hockey players. Judith Franco points out that video did not feature any more violence than what was present in music videos airing at that time on MTV, but that Madonna and her geriatric accomplice "take masculinely codified traits such as directness, violence, aggression, independence and control in their stride, thus challenging social prescriptions of femininity in terms of attitude and behavior" (Franco 2004:3). In this case, the video was censored not for violence, but for transcending hegemonic gender norms of behavior. The assumptions about media priming behaviors and resulting institutionalized sanctioning has limited the representation of women in media. Further research such as audience ethnographies, much like Ien Ang's 1985 work *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination*,

can lead to a more complex understandings of the relationship among the representations violence, sex, and gender and the attitudes of consumers of these text.

I tested whether embodiment was a variable in using the male gaze as an interpretive discourse when viewing music videos. Specifically, I wanted to look at what role if any that the status of dancer has on the acceptance or rejection of the male gaze as an interpretive paradigm. I controlled for this by also testing to see if other social status and viewing habits resulted in predictable variation in the use of the male gaze. Using an internet-based survey with Likert-type scale questions, I evaluated respondents attitudes after watching the music video “Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)” by Beyoncé. I also collected open-ended responses, interviewed one participant and a professional dancer.

There was no observable trend between frequency of music video consumption and acceptance or rejection of the male gaze. The quantified data shows no correlation between dance exposure and rejection of the male gaze as an interpretive paradigm. Looking at the relationship between years of dance experience, social dance participation and frequency there is no correlation. Nor was there any correlation between attitudes and any of the variables tested. Furthermore, there was also no predictive trend in responses that support the assumption that the male gaze a primary discourse when cultural actors view music videos. This also undermine previous studies of priming of misogynistic ideas through media exposure.

Though my quantitative data does not support the hypothesis, the results still undermine the academic propensity to assume the ubiquity of the male gaze as the primary discourse used to view and talk about women. Additionally, this research shows that there

are other discourses employed by cultural actors when viewing these texts. Documenting and lending power to other discourses is necessary to disrupt the hegemonic discourses. Further research on this topic should be done on a larger scale with better representation of minorities, men and various age groups to flesh out and further understand these various discourse.

My qualitative data from open-ended responses and interviews shows a trend toward dancers openly rejecting the male gaze. Within the framework of practice and performance theory, I assume that embodiment accounts for this variation. Dancers study bodily discourses and are aware of the performative embodied nature of gender. Therefore, dancers utilize compositional and empowering discourses when viewing performance, not objectifying discourses. My research shows that embodiment is a social status that needs more attention in academic discussions regarding intersectionality.

Despite assumptions from cultural theorists employing the concept of the male gaze when analyzing cultural texts, dancers do not feel performance is objectifying. I attribute this propensity for scholars to assume objectification to internalized misogynic ideas, whereby they assume the presence of a dancing women is inherently sexual. This is a dismissive assumption that dancers find insulting. This research attempts to lend a voice to women and others who do not see their experiences reflected in the academic discussions over objectification and the male gaze. Furthermore, my research demonstrates the need to account for intersectionality when trying to understand the ways that cultural ideas affect and even oppress the body in day-to-day life. More importantly, this work illustrates a need to move beyond discussions of the male gaze to understand how gender is represented, reproduced and performed by cultural actors.

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APPENDIX A

Music Video Survey

Music Video Reception Survey Informed Consent:

The purpose of this research project is to understand how different people interpret and understand the content in music videos. This survey is composed of two parts. You will be asked to answer questions related to demographics and then prompted to watch a music video. Please respond to the questions following the video. The survey will take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. Participation in the survey will enter you into a drawing for the chance to receive one of three Starbucks gift cards worth \$10 each.

By choosing to participate in this survey, I understand that:

- I must be at least 18 years of age to participate in this study.
- I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time.
- I have the right to review and retract from the record any information I provide that I no longer wish to be included in the research.
- I have the right to anonymity, and my identity will be withheld unless I give permission otherwise.
- There are no anticipated risks associated with participation in this research.
- If I have any questions or concerns regarding my rights as a participant, I can contact Janai Symons, WWU Research Compliance Officer, at (360) 650-3082 or janai.symons@wwu.edu.
- If I experience any injury or adverse effects as a result of my participation in this research, I should contact the researcher, Mary Anne Hood, at (509) 308-9647.
- In agreeing to participate, I do not waive my legal right to protection.

I have read the above description and agree to participate in this study, proceeding to the next page of the survey will serve as an "electronic signature" for this consent form. If you would like a copy of this informed consent, send an email the researcher at hoodm@wwu.edu.

About you:

What year were you born?

What is your biological sex?

- Female (1)
- Male (2)

What is your gender identity? (i.e. female, male, trans, etc.)

- Female (1)
- Male (2)
- Trans (3) _____
- Other (please specify) (4) _____

What is your sexual identity? (i.e. heterosexual, homosexual, pan-sexual, etc.)

- Heterosexual (1)
- Homosexual (2)
- Bisexual (3)
- Other (please specify) (4) _____

What is your ethnic identity?

- White/Caucasian (1)
- African American (2)
- Hispanic (3)
- Asian (4)
- Native American (5)
- Pacific Islander (6)
- Other (7) _____

Tell me about your consumption of media.

Approximately how often do you watch music videos?

- At least once a day (1)
- At least once a week (2)
- At least once a month (3)
- At least once a year (4)
- Almost never (5)

How do you watch music videos? (Check all that apply)

- On a personal computer (1)
- On a computer in a lab or at work (2)
- On a mobile device (phone, tablet, etc.) (3)
- On television (MTV, BET, etc.) (4)
- Other (5) _____

When do you watch music videos? (Check all that apply)

- When I am relaxing (1)
- When I am waiting on something (bus, appointment, etc.) (2)
- When I am bored (3)
- When I am working out (4)
- When I am in class (5)
- When I am at work (6)
- While I am studying (7)
- When I am with friends (8)
- When I am with family (9)
- Other (10) _____

Is there anything else about your music video watching habits?

Tell me about your experience with dance and sports.

Do you like to dance?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Depends (3) _____

Have you ever participated in dance classes? (i.e. Ballet, Jazz, Hula, Line Dancing, etc.)

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If yes to the previous question, what types of dance classes have you taken? (Check all that apply)

- Ballet (1)
- Jazz (2)
- Modern (3)
- Tap (4)
- Lyrical (5)
- Step (6)
- Irish (7)
- Line Dancing (8)
- Hip Hop (9)
- Swing (10)
- Kickline (11)
- Hula (12)
- Tahitian (13)
- Ballroom (14)
- Other (15) _____

If yes to the previous question, how many years total have you participated in dance education?

Do you ever dance socially? (Dance clubs, among friends, cultural or religious ceremonies, etc.)

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If yes to the previous question, how often do you participate in social dance?

- At least once a week (1)
- At least once a month (2)
- At least once a year (3)
- Less than once a year (4)

Is there anything you would like to add about your experience with dance?

Have you ever participated in organized sports?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If yes to the previous question, what sports have you participated in?

- Soccer (1)
- Football (2)
- Baseball (3)
- Softball (4)
- Hockey (5)
- Tennis (6)
- Ridding (7)
- Fencing (8)
- Volleyball (9)
- Swimming (10)
- Cross Country/Track (11)
- Gymnastics (12)
- Cheer (13)
- Basketball (14)
- Lacrosse (15)
- Wrestling (16)
- Other (17) _____

If yes to question 21, how many years total have you participated in organized sports?

Please watch the following video in its entirety before proceeding to the next page. An ad may proceed the video, this is not apart of the study and may be skipped

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4m1EFMoRFvY>>

On the following scales choose the response that best characterizes your opinion.

In general I found the video to be entertaining.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

In general I found the dance in the video to be skillful.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

In general I found the dance in the video to be sexually suggestive.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

In general I found the dance moves to be sexually suggestive.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

In general I found the dancers in the video to be empowered.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

In general I found the dancers in the video to be objectified.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

In general I found the costumes to be sexually suggestive.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

In general I found the costumes to be appropriate.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

I think this video negatively influences the women who view it.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

I think this video positively influences the women that view it.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

I think this video negatively influences the men who view it.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

I think this video positively influences the men who view it.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

I think this video has no influence on the men or women who view it.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

Viewing this video makes me want to dance.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

Viewing this video causes me to feel insecure about my body or appearance.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

Viewing this video causes me to feel motivated or empowered.

- Entirely Disagree (1)
- Mostly Disagree (2)
- Somewhat Disagree (3)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)
- Somewhat Agree (5)
- Mostly Agree (6)
- Entirely Agree (7)

	Absolutely Positive Effect (1)	Mostly Positive Effect (2)	Somewhat Positive Effect (3)	No Effect (4)	Somewhat Negative Effect (5)	Mostly Negative Effect (6)	Absolutely Negative Effect (7)
Black Women (1)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Non-Black Women (2)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Black Men (3)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Non-Black men (4)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

Is there anything else you would like to add about your reaction to this music video?

Thank you for your time! You have completed the survey. If you would like to be entered into the drawing for one of three Starbucks gift cards, please click the following link and follow the instructions: [Enter Drawing Here](#)

APPENDIX B

Semi-structured Interview Schedule

- What do you think about music videos?
- Do you like/dislike any particular music videos?
- What do you think about the portrayal of women in music videos?
- Do you have anything more to add about what you thought of the music videos you were shown in the survey?
- What do you think about the portrayal of women in popular media? (Such as TV, films, Internet based entertainment (Hulu, YouTube, etc), news, video games and advertising?
- Have you ever taken a course on media, communications, or women's studies?
- Do you have anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX C

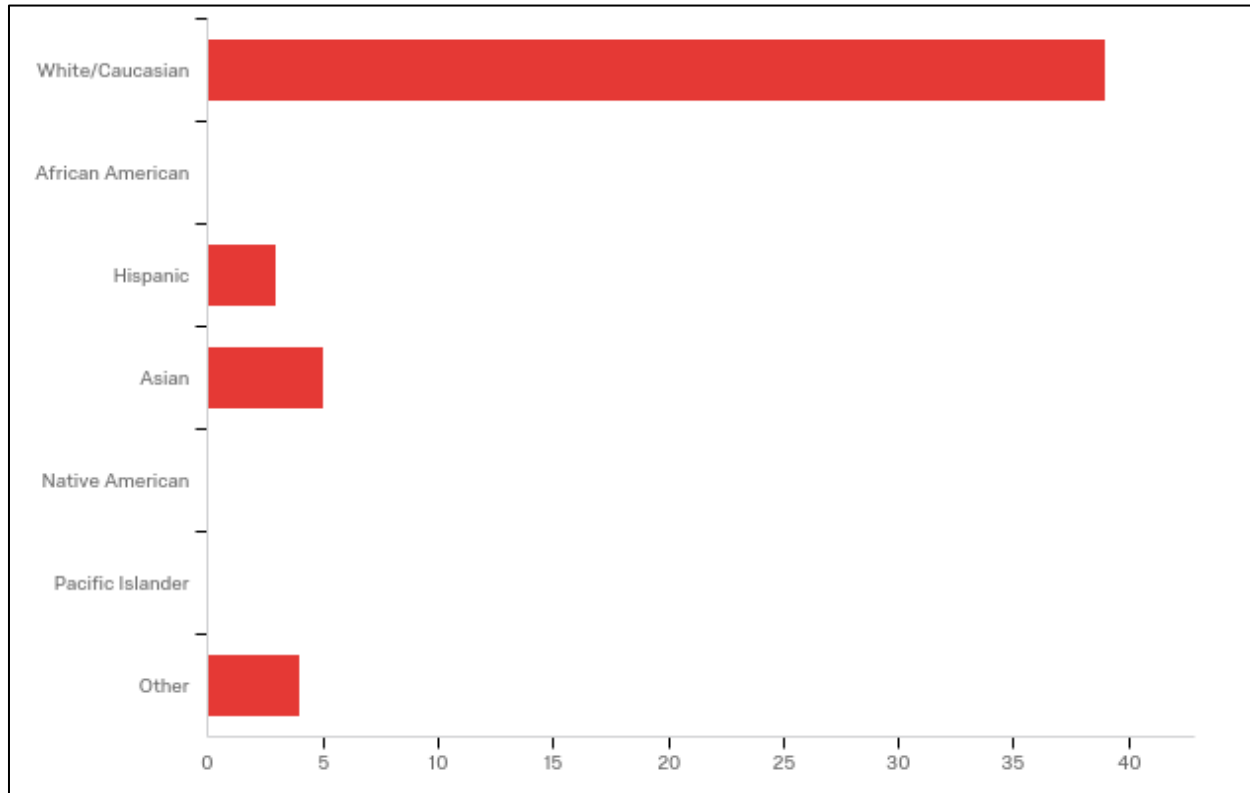


Table 2: Survey responses to “What is your ethnicity?”

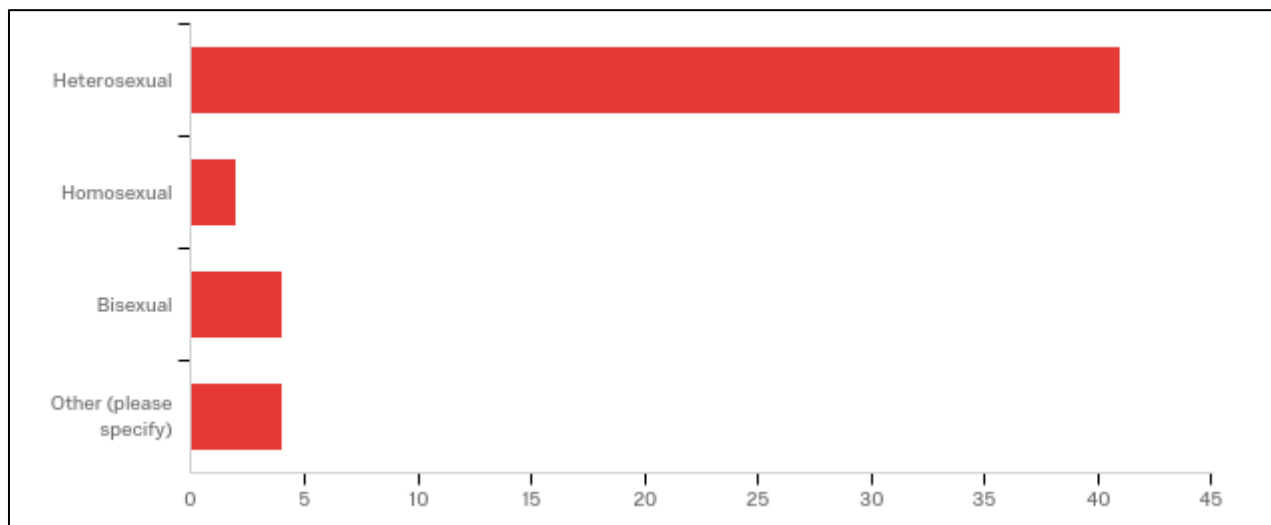


Table 3: Survey response to “What is your sexual identity?”

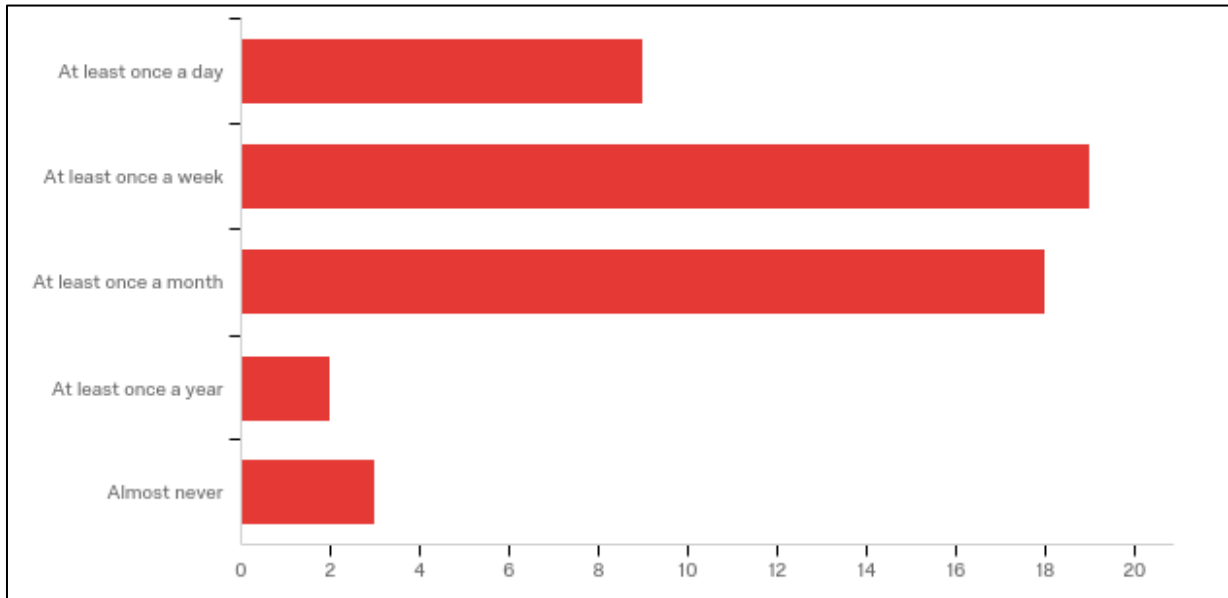


Table 4: Survey response to “Approximately how often do you watch music videos?”

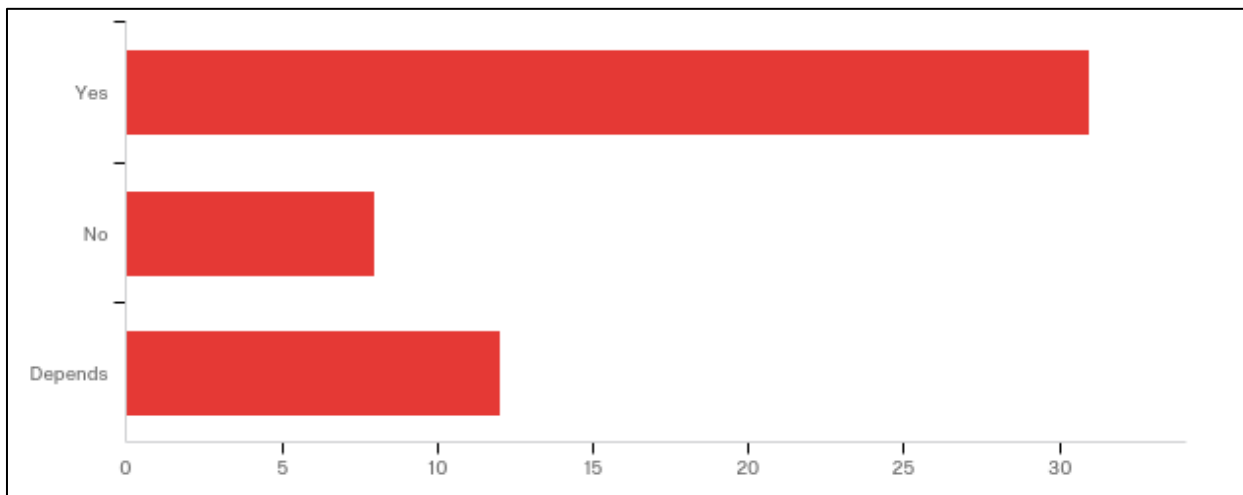


Table 5: Survey response to “Do you like to dance?”

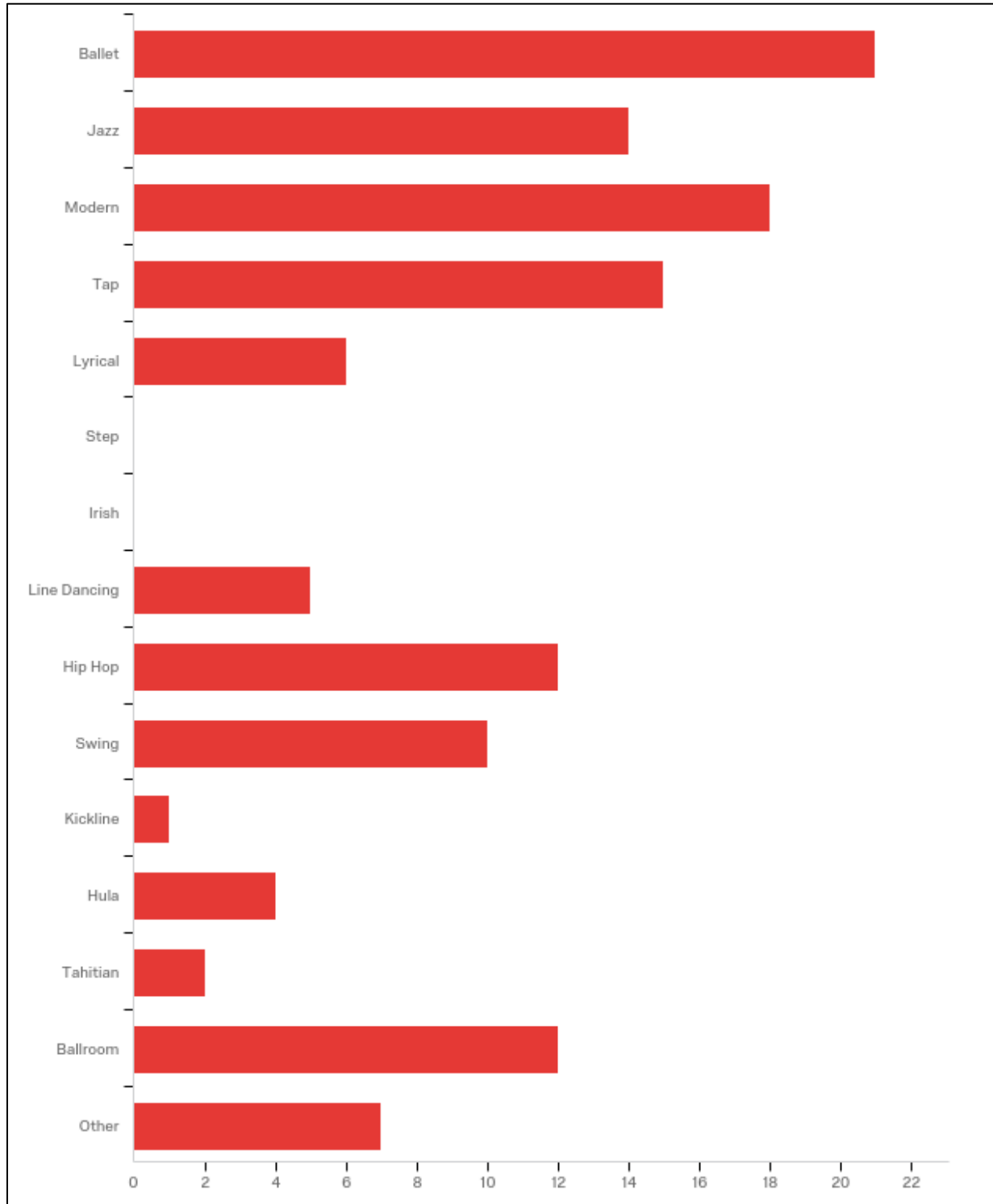


Table 6: Survey response to “...what types of dance classes have you taken (check all that apply)?”